

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT
OF MANITOBA

Its Record and Program

AS OUTLINED TO THE PEOPLE
OF MANITOBA IN RADIO TALKS

BY

THE HON. STUART GARSON

Premier of Manitoba

THE HON. ERRICK F. WILLIS

Minister of Public Works

THE HON. NORMAN L. TURNBULL

Minister Without Portfolio

VOTE ROBERTSON

THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

Mr. Garson should be given credit for the decision to ask the voters for a general judgment on his stewardship and future policies.

The pattern of those policies has been made specially clear in the work of the last session of the legislature and in the speech from the throne. The last session was particularly rich in provincial schemes of improvement, notably in the fields of education and public health. These had been carefully thought out and discussed and provided not only for immediate programmes but for future development.

The programme itself, however, hangs together with the success of the Government's negotiations with Ottawa and the other eight provinces. They cannot be separated.

Mr. Garson, it seems to us, is in a particularly strong position, in this regard. The negotiations with Ottawa have been going on, with long lapses between the different stages, ever since Manitoba presented its first brief to the Rowell-Sirois commission at the end of 1937. During all that time Mr. Garson has been a leading figure in them. He is an acknowledged expert in the field and, since his assumption of the premiership, he has assumed a certain quiet leadership among the premiers of the less-favored provinces. His voice is known and respected far beyond the borders of Manitoba and particularly so at the crucial point of the national capital. To lose his services at this moment would be to throw much to the hazard.

An opportunity should therefore be given him to complete the task to which he has laid his hand. Enough is known of his programme to engender confidence that Manitoba will proceed steadily toward the improvement of our general provincial services. And there is no man in the province better fitted to plead our case and negotiate its details with the federal authorities. Success in the latter endeavor will, therefore, ensure progress along lines already marked out, and those lines are such as to command the general confidence of the people of Manitoba.

—*Free Press Editorial, Sept. 5th, 1945.*

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MANITOBA AT THE CROSSROADS

BROADCAST BY PREMIER STUART GARSON

Station CKY, September 6, 1945

Fellow Manitobans:

It is nine years ago this month that I had the honor to become your Provincial Treasurer. For the first time in that period I am able tonight to tell the people of Manitoba that we have some grounds for facing the future with confidence.

Now I know that to those of you in particular who have been following our progress closely, this may come as a surprising statement. You will say to me: "Surely you are not serious. Why nine years ago Manitoba was going further into debt each year by nearly \$4,000,000. Her credit was gone. Her bonds were selling in the low 70's to yield the investor as much as 6¾%. The Government's services and grants had been severely cut and we were paying a 2% wage tax. We were on the rocks and no mistake.

THE SITUATION TODAY

But look at us today. Each year we have a splendid surplus, not only in our treasury, but in our publicly-owned telephone system and power commission as well. Our credit is completely restored. All of our bonds are selling well over par and some of them for as high as 127. Our last two bond issues were sold to two of the hardest headed buyers on the continent at an interest cost of less than 3%. Our interest charges have been reduced \$1,700,000 per year in the last eight years. In the last four years our expenditures on provincial services, such for example as education and health, have been increased by nearly \$3,000,000 per year without any increase in the rates of provincial taxation. Yet in the same period we have reduced our gross debt by over \$17,000,000, and we have built up at the same time a substantial cash post-war fund, which enables us to go forward with our post-war plans regardless of any delay in the Dominion-Provincial Conference.

Now this is really something. "Do you mean to tell us, Mr. Garson, that in spite of all this splendid progress that we still could not face the future with confidence until just recently?"

My answer is "yes." I am quite serious in making this statement, and tonight I should like to spend a few moments to explain why this is so. Also I wish to refer to the reasons for and the events leading up to our decision to hold a provincial general election this fall, as was announced in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Legislative Session on Tuesday of this week.

THE DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

At the Dominion-Provincial Conference held in Ottawa in August last, the Dominion Government submitted certain definite proposals which we regard as a tremendous step toward prosperity and adequate social security for the Canadian people. It is these proposals which make us so much more confident about the future. True, they do not go as far as the recommendations in Manitoba's brief at that conference, but they are very encouraging nonetheless, and I do not think that I can state our opinion of them better than in repeating the language with which I opened Manitoba's case at the Ottawa Conference. This is what I said:

"Mr. Prime Minister:

"The proposals which I intend to make this afternoon on behalf of Manitoba are not in any sense counter proposals. They are proposals that were prepared before we had any idea as to what the Dominion proposals were going to be. We have been making proposals for eight years. As I said yesterday, it was the financial predicament of Manitoba that was the immediate occasion of the recommendation by the Bank of Canada for the appointment of the Sirois Commission. Since that time, and indeed since before that time, both in season and out of season, we have been trying to develop in Canada a public opinion which would make it possible for us to escape, and for every province which was similarly situated to escape, from the financial predicament in which the existing Dominion-Provincial relations left them. Therefore, Mr. Prime Minister, on the basis of an inadequate consideration of your proposals and not undertaking to express agreement with them at this time, may I say that their presentation is tremendously gratifying to my province in the light of our position for the past eight years. During that time we have never been able to develop anything like the hope which these proposals now laid before us, give us."

But you may ask, "But how do the provinces receive these proposals?" The answer is, "Very well." The attitude of the provincial delegates cannot be better expressed than in the language of Premier Drew of Ontario, who stated: "I said yesterday, and I repeat it now, that it is not for us here to express the hope that this Conference will succeed—it must succeed. The one thing about which everyone of us here should be tremendously careful is that we do nothing that will prevent the success of this conference."

This is very different from the attitude taken by Ontario at the ill-fated 1941 conference, and it shows that the reforms which Manitoba has been seeking since 1937 are now getting general support.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

It shows that other provinces are realizing that in spite of the fact that their treasuries have been prosperous in wartime, we must all view the future with misgivings. Why? Simply because the prosperity of provincial treasuries in wartime has been based largely upon two things: First, the wartime prosperity of the Canadian people and secondly, a tax agreement with the Dominion Government which runs out one year after the end of the war.

This tax agreement in turn has been one of the main reasons for the prosperity of the Canadian people during the war. It has been the cornerstone of our fight against inflation. Without it our price ceiling would never have held. Without it there would have been chaos and confusion; and without something to take its place when it expires very shortly, there will be chaos and confusion in the post-war period and the prosperity of the people of Canada will suffer accordingly.

The provincial treasuries of Canada are directly dependent upon the prosperity of the Canadian people. Thus, if nothing is provided to take the place of these wartime agreements which are expiring, the prosperity of the Canadian people and of the provincial treasuries right across Canada must decline.

THE TAX STRUCTURE

Canada had a very bad tax structure before this war. I need not go into the details of it here. Suffice to say that it handicapped us severely during the depression and unless we make some change for the better in this tax structure now, we cannot hope to have full employment and prosperity in Canada in the post-war period. The proposals which the Dominion submitted at the recent conference set out the blueprint for an improved tax structure. To us, therefore, these proposals are encouraging for four main reasons:

1. They propose a tax system which is more sound and is also more just to all Canadians, no matter in which province they live.

2. The proposals go a long way, although not the whole way by any means, towards putting the provinces on an equal basis financially. As a result Canadian citizens will not have to suffer because they live in a less well-to-do province.

3. The proposals make possible great improvements in Canadian social services, such as health insurance, old age and blind pensions and the like.

4. In providing these things, and this is the most important of all, the proposals give us a chance to maintain our present prosperity which it will be impossible for us to do if we have to revert to the wholly unsound and unfair tax structure that we had in this country before the war.

This is the key to the whole situation. If we do not make it our business to maintain the prosperity of the Canadian people as a whole, the buoyant revenues upon which the present favorable condition of the Manitoba treasury is based, will vanish into thin air. We must first seek the prosperity of the people of Canada before we can find the prosperity of the government of Canada.

THE DOMINION PROPOSALS

The conference proceedings are of such importance that I must deal with them a moment longer. Perhaps it will give you some idea of the amount of work involved if I tell you that the Dominion proposals and supporting documents were presented in eleven volumes, representing a total of some 350,000 words, plus a twelfth volume of comparative financial statistics. This compares with about two long novels of the length of David Copperfield, but I can assure you very much more difficult to read.

To analyze properly this vast mass of material, to say nothing of preparing a reply and counter proposals, is a tremendous task—particularly so for those provinces which went to the conference last month with less preparation than we in Manitoba had done.

Assisted by the work we did before we went to the conference, we have made an analysis of the effects of the Dominion proposals on the Manitoba budget.

You are not interested in the details of this analysis but I think you will be interested in what additional services we could provide in Manitoba by putting into effect the Dominion financial proposals and of some only of their social service proposals. Assuming we have no mass unemployment in Canada, we figure that the Manitoba Government could take advantage of the Dominion proposals to provide for the people of Manitoba:

WHAT THEY WILL MEAN TO MANITOBA

In the Department of Education—

(1) **An increased contribution at least \$1,500,000 towards educational costs** to bring up the provincial contribution to an amount equal to 50% of the basic cost of education in all school rooms in Manitoba in which a standard service is provided including a fully qualified teacher.

(2) **An increase of \$100,000 per year to the University of Manitoba**, increased assistance to education of the deaf and the blind, to libraries, for audio-visual education, for the education of handicapped children, in administration costs and in the cost of teachers' training, an allowance for adult education, an increased text book subsidy.

(3) **An annual appropriation of \$135,000 for technical education**, to be matched by an equal amount by the Dominion, making a total figure of \$271,500 which would assist municipalities to provide technical education.

In Agriculture—We would be able to provide in agriculture substantial additional expenditures in the Livestock Branch, the Dairy Branch, the Extension Service, the Weeds Commission and Publications, and for agricultural development and research. We could provide a province wide government veterinarian service, and of course, the completion of our programme of farm electrification, subsidized by the government to the extent of 50% of the capital cost of transmission lines.

In the Department of Mines and Natural Resources additional appropriations:

(1) To take care of the backlog of delayed replacements and maintenance.

(2) To provide an adequate level of protection for our natural resources.

(3) To provide an adequate field for increased developmental work. These appropriations are designed to preserve our natural resources in approximately their present state of productiveness.

In Public Works there could be provided increases of expenditures to take care of the backlog of replacements and maintenance, but would also provide for a capital programme of \$2,500,000 per year over a period of years extending to 1951 and five years beyond.

This programme of \$2,500,000 per year extends over a period of ten years and takes care of the first priority road projects which, quite apart from their employment-giving features, are imperatively necessary on their own account for the encouragement of tourist traffic, mining development, commercial traffic and municipal market roads.

In the Department of Health and Public Welfare we would be able to introduce stage No. 1 of the Dominion health plan with additions which will provide for:

- (1) health units
- (2) medical care
- (3) hospital care
- (4) diagnostic services.

In addition to this, we would be able to provide additional assistance in the treatment of crippled children; double our expenditure on venereal disease and provide for free treatment of mental disease, no collection to be made from individuals or estates. **We could also provide \$410,000 per year to assist paying for the cost of relief to unemployables.**

Under Health and Public Welfare the Dominion Government would take over **the payment of a pension of \$30 per month without any means test to men and women of age 70 and over**, and we would be enabled by that fact, with the assistance of the municipalities and a 50% Dominion contribution, to provide a means test pension in certain cases for persons of 65 to 69, and blind pensions for persons of 21 years and over.

OTHER BENEFITS

This list of benefits is not exhaustive. There would be other minor ones I have not named. It goes without saying that Manitoba, in common with the other provinces, will urge the Dominion at the adjourned conference proceedings to increase its financial assistance to the provinces to the point where it will be possible for them to do their share in implementing in their entirety those social service and developmental programmes which the Dominion itself recommends as beneficial for Canada. Obviously what we shall be able to do will depend upon the final settlement reached in the conference.

This is the programme which we think we can support without any major increase in Manitoba taxation on the basis of present Dominion proposals.

The Dominion proposals will affect the various provinces differently. Each province must decide not only wherein its own interest lies, but how it can best contribute towards Canadian unity and prosperity.

The Dominion suggests that their proposals should go into effect for a trial period of three years; but every province knows and some of them have already said that it will be difficult for any province to withdraw from the arrangement after the trial period is over. The decision is therefore one which will determine the welfare of the citizens of this country for a long time.

For most provinces it is the most important long-term decision that they have ever had to face; and certainly the provincial governments are absolutely right in not wishing to make their decisions lightly upon the basis of any hasty consideration of the large amount of material recently submitted to them by the Dominion. It was therefore decided at the conference that the provinces would need at least three months in which to consider properly the Dominion proposals. On November 26th next the General Committee, consisting of the nine provincial premiers and the Prime Minister, will meet again to arrange, not a final settlement, but for the conference to reconvene. It seems most probable that when the conference reconvenes the great mass of material submitted by the Dominion and the provinces will be referred to the six standing committees on Agriculture, Public Investment, Housing, Financial Arrangements, Labor and Social Security that already have been set up and are functioning.

It will only be when the committees report back to the full meeting of the conference that the final decisions can be reached.

Let me emphasize this: Ten governments, each sovereign in its own sphere, are dealing here with a matter of the greatest complexity and

most vital importance. Encouraging progress has already been made but with so much depending on the successful outcome of these negotiations, there still remains an enormous amount of work to be done. That there will be delays in a matter of this sort is inevitable. To mention just one example—certain essential income tax statistics will not be available from the federal income tax department until late in November.

MANITOBA'S STAND

What I have said will give you some indication of the likely progress of the negotiations from this point forward. Our most severe critics are unable to say that any delay in this matter has been due to the fault of Manitoba. On the contrary, for years, from platforms all over Canada, and on every possible occasion, we have been warning our fellow Canadians against the very situation in which Canadians now find themselves.

Our warnings were not heeded at the time. As a result we still have these negotiations ahead of us when they should already be behind. But that cannot be helped now. What we must do now is to avoid any further delay on the one hand, and to take care not to let ourselves be rushed into unwise decision by undue haste upon the other.

Manitoba went to the conference last month with a lengthy well-considered presentation. We were prepared to get down to actual negotiations. We hoped that the conference could proceed at once in negotiations which would continue until final agreement was reached. We then could have prepared our Manitoba plans on the basis of the agreement so reached, presented them to the Legislature at its regular winter session and have gone to the people in a general election next April.

EFFECT ON OUR PLANS

As I have indicated, events did not so work out. It is now very unlikely that the final stage of the conference negotiations will be reached until after our Legislature's term of office expires on May 2nd next. On that date our legislative authority to represent the people of Manitoba ceases. Under these circumstances the choice between three courses is open to us:

The first is to carry on, convene the Legislature this winter, and against the possibility that the conference will not be over by May 2nd, 1946, vote an extension of the Legislature's term in order that we may continue to participate in the final negotiations.

We have the constitutional power to do this but we are unalterably opposed to this course. We are opposed in principle to taking such an extension of our term of office at any time; but to take it under the present circumstances would be both morally wrong and exceedingly ill-advised.

Our mandate from the people of Manitoba has now eight months to run. When the premiers' committee meets in November it would have five months. When the conference reconvenes, less than five. It is bad enough for a government so near the end of its term to undertake to commit the people of Manitoba to decisions of such importance. But what condemnation would be strong enough for a self-perpetuated government that would undertake to make such a commitment after its mandate had completely expired.

The second alternative is for us to carry on and take a chance on the conference being completed well before May 2nd, 1946. In this event we shall speak for Manitoba at succeeding meetings of the conference with less and less force as our term nears its end; and if the conference is not completed well before May 2nd, 1946, it is very probable that we shall have to ask it to adjourn while we go home for a couple of months to have a general election in Manitoba.

In such a case I am afraid our province would be criticized for the delay thereby caused, and the more so because British Columbia, which is in the same position as ourselves, has already decided to hold an election this fall, and Nova Scotia is holding a general provincial election as well.

The third alternative is to take advantage of the three months' recess of the conference to hold a provincial general election this fall. Manitoba's work upon the subject matter of the conference is somewhat more advanced than that of the other provinces and what still remains to be done is well in hand.

Our list of public work projects of various kinds with which we propose to proceed at once is already in the hands of the federal government for co-ordination with its programme. So far as we know we are the first province in Canada to get ourselves in this position.

Our treasury's cash position is so strong that regardless of any delay in the conference, as long as it is not wholly out of reason, the lack of money will be no bottleneck to the carrying forward quickly of our post-war plans. Some of them indeed have been underway for some time. Work upon farm electrification scheme, for example, started on June 15th last and has been proceeding as rapidly as we can get materials. We can therefore hold an election this fall without prejudice to the interests of this province.

IS AN ELECTION AT THIS TIME FAIR?

To hold an election this fall is fair to the people of Manitoba. We as a government with a few months to run have no right to bind them to a commitment with which they will have to live for years and perhaps decades. We have no right to run the risk of making Manitoba the laughing stock of Canada if by a lack of the most ordinary foresight we have to hold up the conference proceedings until we can hold an election next spring.

It is fair to our opposition. Let us suppose that in an election in the early spring of 1946 they were elected either just after the conclusion of the conference proceedings or in the midst of them. In such case they would be in a most awkward position either to speak for Manitoba or to develop policy upon the basis of the conference proceedings.

Lastly, it is only fair to ourselves. We have tried to take the lead for the last eight years in this fight for a reform of Dominion-Provincial relations. Now at last increasing success is attending our efforts. Have we not the right to ask you to put us by means of a fresh mandate from the people in the strongest possible position to bring our efforts to a successful conclusion? I think we have.

If you don't want us to carry on till the end, now is the time to tell us. If you want some one else to finish the job, in fairness to us and in fairness to them, now is the time for you to say so.

POLITICAL CAPITAL BEING MADE

Already some of the master propagandists in our midst are thinking up slogans and seeking to pin the label of "snap election" on this fall's appeal to the people. Such a term is a wholly false one.

We in the government are very tired with months of heavy overtime work on the preparation of the conference brief, and since the conference in preparing our report to the Legislature. We have had no time to do any political organizing.

The government, loyal to its non-partisan mandate, has severed its connection with the Liberal and Conservative federal organizations. In every respect of organization work we start from scratch, and many of us must carry a heavy load of responsibility for government work as we go. All of the tactical advantages therefore are wholly on the side of the opposition.

We throw ourselves completely upon the goodwill and fair judgment of the electors of Manitoba. But that is what we have always done in the past. This government and its predecessors have had no political machine in this province since the Farmers' Party came into power in 1922. But we shall be faced this time with an opposition which has more paid organizers, more unpaid organizers and more money to spend than any group we have ever faced before.

WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

If you believe that we are entitled to your confidence we must ask you this time to help our candidates even more than you have done in the past, not only with your contributions, however small, towards our costs of running this campaign, for in this respect too we start at scratch, but also with your personal help in committee rooms, and in canvassing and in speaking.

Manitoba general elections in the past have been treated as pretty casual affairs by both government and opposition, neither of which was highly organized into anything remotely approaching a machine. It would be better in my judgment if we could always keep provincial politics on this basis in Manitoba. Highly organized political machines with a framework of professional organizers often become pretty objectionable institutions with the passing of the years.

We have been fortunate that in Manitoba we have not had any to deal with for a very long time. That fact perhaps has tended to make us too easy-going at elections. But we should make no mistake about the organizing power and the resources behind our opponents this time. Those who believe that the government should be re-elected this time must really contribute and really work.

In conclusion may I say this. You, the citizens of Manitoba in 1941 gave us a mandate to cut out party politics. This we have done absolutely and completely.

The three parties in the government have worked together in loyalty, unity and harmony. It is not for us to say whether under difficult conditions we have done a good job. But one thing we can say in all honesty. We have given the job everything we had. We have not spared ourselves.

It is for you to say whether our efforts resulted in a 'good job, whether they have been worthwhile.

WHAT COALITION MEANS TO MANITOBA

BROADCAST BY ERRICK F. WILLIS

Minister of Public Works

Station CKRC, Friday, September 7th, 1945

The purpose of this broadcast is to inform you as to why your present government in Manitoba proposes to appeal for your support again as a coalition government and on a non-partisan basis.

HISTORY OF COALITION

As a matter of record, it should be recalled that the Coalition Government was formed in 1940, and was composed of representatives of the Liberal-Progressive, Conservative, C.C.F., and Social Credit parties. Six months after its formation, a general election was held, and the government was returned to office with fifty out of the fifty-five seats.

It is particularly important to note, that the Coalition Government was not formed as a result of an election being inconclusive, but, on the contrary, was formed before an election, and it went to the people as an accomplished fact, and that it received the overwhelming support of the people of Manitoba.

REASONS FOR ITS FORMATION

The reasons for the formation of the government are matters of record, being contained in the letters exchanged between the leaders of the different political parties at that time. Briefly, these might be summarized as: (1) the unanimous desire to eliminate political strife during the war; (2) the need to present a united front to secure for Manitoba the benefits of the Sirois Report, which it was, and still is believed will give to the people of our province a greater measure of social security; and (3) to unite in an effort to bring increased prosperity to all the people of Manitoba.

After two contented years within the Coalition, the C.C.F. Party for reasons best known to itself, withdrew its support, and since that time, the other parties to the Coalition have carried on and worked in harmony on a non-political basis.

To-day it is the feeling of the members of the Government, its supporters in the Legislature, and, we believe, the vast bulk of the people of this province, that the years which lie ahead will be as difficult, if not more so, than the years of the war.

PROVINCIAL PROBLEMS

This is particularly true if we only consider the problems which face the Provincial Legislature. In some measure, its responsibilities were reduced in the last five years because of the priority demanded and given to national and international affairs. Not only was the government pledged to keep expenditures to a minimum in order that every possible dollar could be devoted to the war effort, but labor and materials were not available to carry on any more than a mere maintenance of public works, highways, health services and similar related activities.

Now that peace has been established, vast supplies of materials and manpower are expected to become available, and the work of utilizing these assets and turning them into positive benefits for all our citizens

is a responsibility for which the Provincial Government must assume a full share.

These are facts no thinking man will attempt to contradict. The needs are clear, the objectives to be achieved are not in dispute, the Government's programme for rural electrification, provincial-wide health services, expansion of our highways system, erection of necessary public works, and the whole post-war programme in general, has been most carefully planned, the ground-work laid and the necessary money is available.

WHAT IS THE BEST METHOD

Since there are no differences regarding the details of the programme, or the aims to be realized, the members of the Government and the supporters of the Government in the House have come to the conclusion—which we feel will be shared by an overwhelming majority of the people of the province—that the primary need is to get on with the job, and that political considerations, and jockeying for political favors should not be allowed to deter us or obscure our final goal.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

In the Federal field, the question of party politics is an entirely different one from the provincial or municipal governments. In dealing with international affairs, foreign policy, relationships with Great Britain and the other Dominions, world trade, emigration, minority rights, and other matters that come under the jurisdiction of the Dominion, it is only natural that differences of opinion should exist, and that various theories of government should prevail. Federal parties exist to give expression to these diverse points of view and to propose and support different methods of dealing with them.

In the provincial field, on the other hand, the scope and authority of the legislature is not large. It deals for the most part with matters concerning municipal affairs, highways, health, natural resources and education.

SIMILARITY BETWEEN PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

In this respect the Legislature differs but little from the various municipal governments. For example, both such bodies discuss and deal with the financing of schools, securing teachers, transporting children, text-books, and so forth.

The Department of the Municipal Commissioner is entirely taken up with problems of the municipalities, co-ordinating their efforts, and safe-guarding the municipal tax-payer.

The Provincial Department of Health deals with the same problems that face municipal health officers every day; and the Public Works Department concerns itself with roads, and similar projects in which it enters into partnership with the municipalities, and deals with the same problems.

Practically every town, city and municipality to-day is governed on a coalition or non-partisan basis. In fact, it has become generally recognized that this is the most satisfactory method of dealing with such problems as those just outlined.

OBJECTIVES NOT IN DISPUTE

When the job to be done is clear, when the objectives to be attained are not in dispute, then both common sense and experience has taught us that the best way in the end is to forget politics, tackle the job with a united and determined effort and handle the details in a way that will find the support of the vast majority of people who have no interest in politics as such, or in gaining special consideration for the few at the expense of the many.

The present Coalition Government in Manitoba is a combination of three political viewpoints, some radical, some otherwise. Similarly, when Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt met at Teheran and Yalta, they represented three divergent political viewpoints, one a Conservative, one a Communist, the other a Democrat. Yet these differences of personal outlook, differences of political background, were laid aside for the attainment of objectives upon which all were agreed, and which were of such supreme importance that other considerations were not allowed to turn them aside or obscure their goal. They tried to find, and did find a common ground of effort, because they had a high purpose which was more important than any political party. We, in the Coalition Government, feel that we should emulate their example and forget our political differences in the face of the difficult problems which are at our door, and that we should move forward progressively and quickly to new goals which lie immediately ahead.

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

I think it is important for you to know as to what kind of objectives we have set for ourselves in the present Coalition Government in Manitoba.

In general, we hold the opinion that the horse and buggy days have gone and will not return. We believe that the great changes and the progress which has been made in all sections of the world should be reflected here, and that we should move forward to new goals with much greater rapidity than has ever been experienced in this province in the past. Even although only six years have elapsed, we believe that what was good enough before the war is certainly not good enough for the post-war period. We are not satisfied with the rate of progress in the past, and we know now that many things which were believed to be impossible ten years ago, are now possible and can be attained.

We recognized that we have not progressed during the war years, due to the fact that any considerable expenditure of public money would be a detriment to the progress of the war and the financing of our Federal operations. In the meantime, however, we were saving your money in order that in the post-war period we could bring larger benefits to our people than they had known in the past.

We believe, for instance, that rural electrification, is limited only by the question of the availability of materials and men, and that there is no serious financial difficulty in regard to securing this benefit, which will revolutionize every farm which is reached.

Our investigations show that it is possible to spread health and hospitalization services all over the province with the assistance of local communities, and plans have been completed for this purpose.

We are not content with the inadequate roads which our people have had in the past, and practical plans have been made so that they will be greatly improved in the future.

We refuse to be judged by the slow progress of the past, and ask you to believe that we have made practical plans which will bring vastly greater services to the rural life of this province, and that greater progress will be made in the next five years along these lines than has been made in at least the last twenty-five years of our provincial history.

The plans have been made. The money is available. We seek only your mandate to proceed.

A RECORD OF CO-OPERATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

BROADCAST BY N. L. TURNBULL

Station CKRC, Monday, September 17th, 1945

In my opening remarks for this broadcast I would like to give a short history of the Social Credit co-operation in the present Coalition Government of Manitoba. I shall state reasons why I think the coalition should continue.

Elected in the general election of 1936, five of us represented the protest on the part of a large number of the electorate against the spectacle of huge surpluses of foodstuffs and materials of all kinds on the one hand and mass unemployment and underconsumption and destitution on the other.

It is true we were elected in opposition to the then Liberal Progressive Government. Believing at that time, as we still do, in non-partisan politics in the provincial sphere we refused the offers of a seat in Cabinet but said that we would co-operate with the Liberal-Progressive (the largest group in the House), in giving support to sound legislation which we deemed to be in the best interests of the people of Manitoba.

For five years we kept our word and it is almost entirely due to our willingness to give and take that Manitoba had stable government during those years prior to the outbreak of war. We know that some of those who held the same views on monetary and economic reform were bitterly disappointed at our action in co-operating with the government of that time. Despite that fact, we realized that stable government was what Manitoba needed and that disallowance of Alberta Acts clearly showed that although the provinces were in dire straits, under the B.N.A. Act they had no power or authority over fiscal and monetary policy.

In 1940, the non-partisan government was formed and in 1941 the people of Manitoba *returned* the non-partisan government for the war and post-war years.

If at that time it was desirable to cut out provincial party politics it would appear equally necessary now that we are moving into far more difficult times for provincial governments. Perhaps all of us need to realize that from henceforth we "live in the wide house of the world" and that provincially we are vitally affected by actions of other nations and with a greater celerity of effect than we ever dreamed possible six years ago.

Whatever the final outcome of the Dominion-Provincial Conference we as residents of Manitoba will be directly affected. If the conference is not a success it will mean that we shall face in a very short period the

most difficult tax situation in our history. A successful conference will have its immediate effect in that it will open ways in which the Government of Manitoba can meet its obligations, increase educational and health facilities, enlarge its public works and natural resources programme. The conference must not fail and must be successful if we, as residents of Manitoba, are to be able to meet our obligations and carry our share of taxes along with other provinces.

It is the earnest desire of the coalition government that men returning from overseas shall be able to re-establish themselves and find a place and occupation in the community of their choice. To this end we must give a great deal of our effort. A job for the job's sake is not enough. These men want to feel that their community *wants* them and that they have a sphere in which to use their abilities and be able to contribute something toward the welfare and progress of their nation.

To this end then it behooves us to take stock of our huge production capacity. Premier Garson in his submission at the opening of the Dominion-Provincial Conference dealt with our productive capacity in this manner and I quote:

"The free enterprise system has now such a great productive capacity that unless it makes a generous provision for the underprivileged, this great capacity is in danger of becoming clogged with its own output. That is why free enterprise must be progressive in its attitude towards welfare measures and to improvements in the living standards of the people. These are of invaluable assistance in insuring that the huge productive capacity of the free enterprise system will be fully employed. Notwithstanding this great capacity our pre-war production was not enough to provide even a moderate average standard of living and we had unemployment. One of the best ways of curing this unemployment is by getting purchasing power into the hands of those who have human needs to satisfy and who are without the purchasing power with which to satisfy them." Unquote.

In a previous broadcast I suggested that in attempting to solve our problems no one political group had the answer, rather the solution is to be found by all groups giving their best effort and ideas that some most necessary reforms be effected and some most glaring evils be eradicated. The post-war years offer us plenty for our energies—effort that should not be wasted in indulging in petty party politics. It may be and we as Social Creditors believe it will come to pass, that despite our adjustments between the Dominion and the Provinces the need will be most evident for fiscal reform by the Dominion Government. Shifting the burden of taxes only spreads them over a wider sphere; we shall still pay those taxes as Canadians if not Manitobans. The time may soon come when the Dominion will find that to enable the provinces to carry on that higher standard of services in education, health, public works, agriculture and natural resources, the adjustment grants to the provinces may well embarrass the Dominion Government to such a degree that reform in fiscal policy and banking policy will become imperative in order to equate our consumption with our vast productive power.

To keep a high standard of living for the people of Manitoba means that we must see to it that our production is distributed both to our own people and to those who wish to import our goods. All too frequently it is overlooked that if we are to export our surplus those that

buy from us must first be able to sell their surpluses. It is a physical impossibility for the foreigner to buy our goods unless he can sell his own. To provide the foreigner with a market is the indispensable condition of having one ourselves. Note that I say *provide* the foreigner with a *market* not with a huge loan of money. It is markets the other fellow wants; if he has that he has no trouble in procuring the money. The war has proved that to us without the shadow of a doubt.

This then is one of our chief problems in the forthcoming era of peace. Shall we see an era of military might succeeded by an era of economic might? If this takes place among the nations of the world then World War III is on its way. If as individuals we co-operate one with another, cutting out petty politics, and party strife and endeavour to work our way sanely and seriously through these vexing problems then indeed we may enter an era of peace that the world has never seen before. It is my earnest hope that we will be able to do just that. It is my hope that Manitoba's non-partisan Government under Premier Garson will have no small part to play, so that in the future to quote an old Chinese proverb we as Manitobans will "prove our measure" (as men and women, Canadian citizens) "to live in the Wide house of the World."